

All these programmes should be engendered, in order to ensure that the support systems that women farmers need, such as creches and day care centres, as well as access to credit, insurance, technology and market, are provided”.

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A Future Strategy for Sustainability of Family Farming Lessons from Cirad reviews

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First of all, I would like to thank Kae Sekine and all the people in charge of the organization of this event. It's an honor and a pleasure to be here and I hope this is the beginning of an interesting collaboration.

Cirad, my institution, works in tropical developing countries. This will be the focus of my presentation, even if most of the time, it concerns FF from a global point of view.

The conventional development pathway

Mainstream thought about development documents and promotes a quite unique and historical development pathway, assuming the link between agriculture modernization and development.

It looks like a caricature, but it's the way it is presented in recent publications from institutions like IFPRI and in the last issue of “World Development” revue. For a lot of researchers and decision makers' development is a process that can be summarized in 6 points:

1. A diversification of national economies, from a primary sector based economy to a structurally diversified economy

2. A drastic rise of labor productivity in agriculture, in order to align agriculture incomes and tertiary sector incomes.
3. A massive exit of workers from agriculture to other sectors and cities
4. A need for larger, motorized and specialized farmers
5. A need for a more market connected, short term focused, capital intensive and professionalized agriculture and farmers
6. An industrialization of upstream and downstream food systems segments; and later of agriculture itself

But this historical pathway required conditions. Among these conditions, 6 can be stressed:

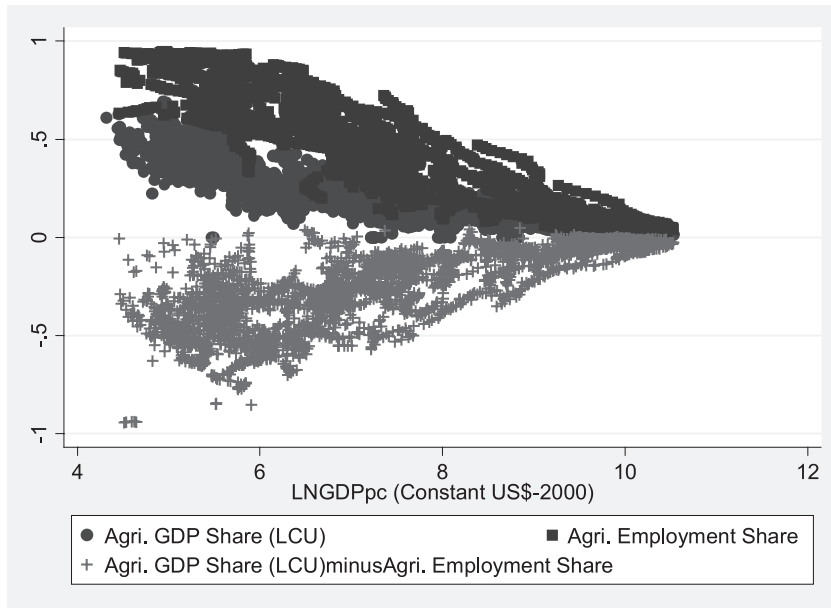
1. A strong demand in the long run, that nurture a sustained growth regime and employment in the tertiary sector
2. Downward demographic trends: Europe was about to achieve its demographic transition when modernizing its agriculture
3. Technical and technological improvements, nurtured by strong public supports to research and innovations
4. Massive public interventions, specially to control the productive assets' allocation (mainly outside markets rules)
5. Always, everywhere, national markets protection and incentive prices' policies
6. Strongly supported farmers' organizations, associated to public decisions

Following this pathway, you reach high incomes, and what Peter Timmer called in 2009 a world without agriculture. The graph below gives evidences that the richer your country is, the lower is the agriculture GDP share, and the lower is the agriculture employment share.

Thinking development in this linear process, and the role of agriculture in this pathway, leads to the promotion of an explicit categorization of farmers, orienting public policies.

Policy makers broadly share a schematic typology of farmers, promoted and disseminated by the World Development Report on agriculture, in 2008. 3 groups are therefore identified

1. Farmers already professionals, specialized, market oriented, organized.
2. Farmers potentially professionals, specialized, market oriented, organized, who represent the main target for public policies.



3. The others... unable to face global competition and for whom two options remain. The first one, the most radical, suggests that they have to leave the countryside and find decent jobs in cities. The second one, which remains minority, is to enhance grassroots and territorial development.

The conventional pathway questioned: a need for a change of paradigm

But today, evidences are also given to this classical vision of development has come to an end. First, this story is not finished yet It's more and more difficult to contest the conventional development pathway's limits.

Taking into account natural environment constraints, conventional technical models and food systems are vulnerable, because they are mainly based on fossil energy, mineral inputs. Pollutions and sanitary threats are now proved (water, soils, and biodiversity). And these systems show a lack of resilience and adaptability to global changes.

The economical superiority and sustainability of conventional modernization is also questioned. The controversy about economies of scale remains, but small scale farms surely better use the ground. On the other hand the preoccupant phenomenon of indebtedness (in Northern countries as well as in southern countries), plays like a time bomb, with yet dramatic consequences for many farmers.

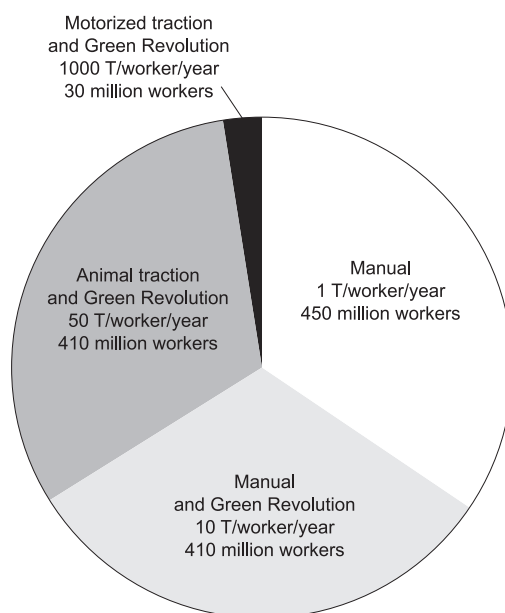
One cannot neglect the social malaise and the marginalization of farmer. There is a growing contestation by urban consumers of conventional intensification of agri-

culture. More than this, even if the phenomenon is diverse and context dependent, real ruptures between farmers and their society occur.

Beside these limits, the replication of today developed countries' development pathway is quite uncertain.

The conventional pathway has lead to huge productivity gaps in agriculture. The world agriculture situation today is that 2% only of the farms benefit from motorization and from the last technologies.

Regarding labor productivity, which is unfortunately the main criteria of performance in the international competition, these 2% are 200 times more productive than the 30% of farms who benefit from animal traction and green revolution technologies. But these 30% are the second category of farmers, those who have the potential to compete the conventional pathway. In that unfair competition conditions how can they succeed their modernization? The competition was not so unfair when Europe and Northern American achieved their agriculture revolution. And for the others, who represent 860 million workers, if we simply consider their labor productivity, they effectively should definitely migrate to cities.



Third, the employment challenge is huge, especially in Sub Saharan Africa and South Asia. Urban and rural population in these parts of the world will continue to increase for the next decades. It's not because urban part of the population is growing that rural population in numbers diminished. How can these national economies ab-

sorb both the continuing flows of workers arriving on urban and rural labor markets and those who are expected to leave agriculture?

To conclude for this part of the argumentation, in most developing countries, the replication of the conventional development pathway is obviously unlikely, while, in industrialized countries, the conventional pathway has come to a dead end.

We need, therefore, to shift from a paradigm to another, which is mostly still to think and achieve. But do FF offer perspectives for such a shift, both in developing and in developed countries?

FF definition and an essay in measuring its contributions to sustainable development

As the world is celebrating the international year of family farming, family farming is not a stabilized category, is not statistically defined. This looks like a paradox, as the recognition of FF is essential for implementing specific and alternative policies. It's important to have a definition both comprehensive and that is consistent with national and international statistics.

We propose to define FF as a production organization in which the links between a household and a production unit are strong: one cannot separate production and domestic concerns. Considering the nature and the strength of these links, there is a gradient of situations, from pure family farms to pure corporate farms.

	Corporate agriculture		Family agriculture
	Entrepreneurial forms of farming	Family business forms	Family forms
Labour	Hired only	Mixed, existence of full time hired labour	Mostly family, no full time hired labour
Capital	Shareholders	Family or family association	Family
Management	Technical	Family / technical	Family
Consumption	Not applicable	Residual	Partial to dominant on-farm consumption
Legal status	Limited company or other type of company	Farmer status, associative forms	Informal or farmer status
Land holding	Ownership or formal tenant farming	Ownership, or formal or informal tenant farming	

But, to measure FF numbers and contributions, we propose to distinguish 3 global ideal types of agriculture. And we fix that the most relevant and operational criteria to qualify the proximity between household and production unit is the nature of the labor mobilized.

1. FF is defined as a form of agricultural operation where the domestic sphere and production activities share organic links, and which mobilizes only family workers, excluding permanent hired labor.
2. Family business farming shares FF and corporate characteristics and the la-

bor involved is a mix of family and full time hired labor.

3. Corporate farming is totally disconnected to family and functions only with hired workers.

With this definition, FF covers a vast diversity of realities. It spreads across all continents and ecologies. It is based on a wide range of technical knowledge. It is connected to markets through all types of channels. There is therefore a need, at national and local levels, to explore and to characterize this diversity.

Using our large definition, we tried to approach FF contribution to world production, beginning by some significant examples, presented here in percentage (in green for FF). The graph confirms the predominance of FF, even in very significant market oriented commodities.



We know that the vast majority of the 1.3 billion workers in agriculture work in FF, because they live mainly in countries where CF is still embryonic. FF is therefore a major stake for giving rural people a living to the increasing population in Sub Saharan Africa and South Asia, which countries already count for 35% of actual working population, but will count for much more in the next decades.

But employment in agriculture is still a stake for China whose growth is less dynamic. And it could become part of a solution in developed countries, to face economic potential slow growth in the long run, or even stagnation or recession.

Evidences exist that intra familial solidarity ties reinforce social cohesion; family solidarities play as safety nets in case of crisis. This social dimension is part of the essential functions of FF to face household vulnerability. But it's also important to have in mind that social relationship inside family farms can be problematic: intergeneration and gender relationships are a wide field of evolution.

The natural environment aspects are much more difficult to catch. With our definition, we have no evidence of FF goods practices in naturel resources management. If their living condition and access to natural resources make them vulnerable,

FF can destroy these natural resources. All FF are not acting in a sustainable way. They sometimes implement technical systems with strong environmental impacts, and that they can also be highly dependent on agri supplies. But evidences exist also on their specific knowledge of their ecosystem, and on their best practices when conditions access are fair. FF can potentially manage, if they benefit from the right supports, a sustainable agro ecology.

Elements of conclusion

There is a need for a change of development paradigm, but what can we do?

Both for developing and developed countries, a first proposition is to revisit the autonomy dimension of “peasant economy”:

1. autonomy from upstream actors of food systems (inputs providers)
2. autonomy to experiment alternative technical systems
3. autonomy from financial actors and strength
4. autonomy from downstream actors and markets' private norms
5. autonomy in composing with farm and of farm activities

The idea is to shift from a narrow conventional pathway based on modernization to heterogeneous, territorial and open alternative models..... promoting familial organization.

A second proposition is to experience policy mixes, which supposes to reinvest specific fields in public policies and to take in charge the complexity and the diversity of FF situations. This means:

1. taking into account the diversity of FF
2. supporting all the functions (material and non material) and activities of FF
3. reinforcing land governance
4. taking into account the diversity of food systems
5. paying attention to public goods and infrastructures
6. supporting the role and the political weight of FF organizations within the territories
7. protecting FF in their unequal competition with agro industries (from inside or abroad), but without excluding virtuous articulations
8. re thinking social relationships inside the family (women and young's status)

In developing countries, specific attention should be taken on:

1. promoting labor intensive production and food systems

2. supporting linkages between rural, agricultural and social policies, designed for FF; good examples exist in Brazil (Fome Zero programs), in Argentina (Prohuerta initiative), in India (universal allocations to vulnerable families)
3. supporting the right to a sustainable alimentation

To conclude, let's say that there is no room for unique and simplistic responses. States and local collectivities have to re investing in "tailor made" development strategies and family farming, because of the links between domestic sphere and production unit is part of the solution.

But these links can't do all: it's necessary to strengthen public policiesagriculture must remain what we call in France "Une affaire d'Etat".